DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 092 264 24 RC 007 885

AUTHOR Antell, Will
TITLE Culture, Psychological Characteristics, and Socioeconomic Status in Educational Program Development for Native Americans.
INSTITUTION New Mexico State Univ., University Park. ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
BUREAU NO BR-6-2469
PUB DATE Jun 74
CONTRACT OEC-1-6-062469-1574(10)
NOTE 68p.
AVAILABLE FROM National Educational Laboratory Publishers, Inc., 813 Airport Blvd., Austin, Tex. 78702 (Stock No. EC-014, $4.00)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$3.15 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *American Indians; Bilingual Education; Community Control; *Cultural Background; Curriculum Development; Educational Assessment; *Educational Needs; Financial Support; Information Needs; Program Development; *Psychological Characteristics; Resources; Self Directed Groups; *Socioeconomic Status; Use Studies

ABSTRACT

Addressed to educators who have the responsibility for developing curriculums or educational programs that will serve Native American students, the document does not present new information on the status of education in Native American communities. Rather, it discusses ways in which available information, such as the 1928 Meriam Report, can be used to initiate program development. Emphasizing that educational opportunities for Native American children must be developed on the middle ground between life in Native communities and established educational institutions, the paper states that the clear need in "Indian education" is for curriculum and program development. Future research efforts should objectively monitor the effectiveness of curricular approaches rather than rediscover the symptoms. Local control of reservation schools and contracting Johnson-O'Malley monies directly with tribes are desirable, but are only intermediate goals at best. The primary question still remains one of educational programs, after control or influence are attained. Also, because of the diverse conditions among Native American communities, a wide variety of approaches and materials are needed. Every school which serves Native American students should have the programmatic capability of making them feel comfortable in the learning environment and of enhancing their chances for a higher quality life. (KM)

ED 092264

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

CULTURE, PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS, AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT FOR NATIVE AMERICANS

by

Dr. Will Antell, Chippewa
Graduate School of Education
Harvard University

June 1974

For Sale By
National Educational Laboratory Publishers, Inc.
813 Airport Boulevard, Austin, Texas 78702
Stock Number EC-014
Price - $4.00

RC007885

June 1974

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

CLEARINGHOUSE ON RURAL EDUCATION AND SMALL SCHOOLS (CRESS)

New Mexico State University

Las Cruces, New Mexico 88003

The material in this publication was prepared pursuant to a contract with the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their judgment in professional and technical matters. Prior to publication, the manuscript was submitted to the Division of Program Review and Evaluation, Indian Education Resources Center, Bureau of Indian Affairs for critical review and determination of professional competence. This publication has met such standards. Points of view or opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the official view or opinions of either the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the National Institute of Education.

This booklet may be duplicated in whole or in part, whenever such duplication is in the interest of bettering education.

FOREWORD

Educational opportunity for Native American children must be developed on middle ground between life in Native communities and established educational institutions. Perceptions of learning and schooling in many Native communities contrast dramatically with the experimental, empirical approaches emphasized in teacher training and in research in graduate schools of education.

To the typical Native American, going to school is a personal-social experience that is enjoyed, endured, and too often avoided. The teachers and administrators in these schools have been trained to focus on goals, processes, outcomes, and accountability in terms of the dominant industrial society. Indeed, the language of education is becoming more and more the language of the factory and the market-place.

As much as we disavow "scientific management," we still seek that elusive model, system, or learning package that will somehow alleviate undesirable outcomes. The search for a better way must go on, but not at the price of ignoring the interpersonal dimension.

Underlying the views expressed in this paper is a belief that educational opportunity for Native Americans and others who are underachieving, unhappy, and dropping out can be enhanced by personalizing and socializing the school experience. The techniques of teaching, management, and research must serve this end rather than their own. There is no quick, easy, sure model for the client-practitioner role relationship in education.

This paper suggests a pathway to a middle ground that will bring Native Americans and professional educators closer together through personal interaction, which fosters mutual understanding, appreciation, and respect.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I	INTRODUCTION	1
II	SOME IMPORTANT ASSUMPTIONS	5
III	THE CULTURE ISSUE	25
IV	THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION	35
V	SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS	43
VI	INTERACTION AND INNER-ACTION	49
VII	SUMMARY	61
BIBLIOGRAPHY		63
	ABOUT THE AUTHOR	64

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This paper is addressed to educators who have responsibility for developing curriculums or educational programs that will serve Native American students. It does not present new information on the status of education in Native American communities, but discusses ways in which information already available can be utilized to initiate program development.

Much essential information about the educational needs of Native American people has been known for some time. One of the earliest studies drawing attention to the educational plight of Native Americans was the Meriam Report in 1928. In his historically important, but generally unheeded report, Meriam called attention to the importance of education in general and special curricular programs in particular:

> The fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian service be recognized as primarily educational in the broadest sense of the word, and that it be made an efficient educational agency, devoting its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians, so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or be fitted to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency.[1]

The choice of being "absorbed into the prevailing civilization or (being) fitted to live in the presence of that civilization" is an important option to Native American people. The following quotation from the 1928 report points out early recognition of the need to take unique social and

---

[1] Lewis Meriam, The Problem of Indian Administration, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1928). p. 435.

cultural characteristics of Native American people into account in the details of general curriculum and special program development:

> We have learned in the case of children from foreign homes, that there are values in customs of other people that ought to be preserved and not destroyed; so with Indians; there is a contribution from Indian life that likewise needs to be safeguarded and not sacrificed to unnecessary standardization.[2]

This early report said something that is very important to Native American people. Their values and customs are meaningful and are cherished by them. School curriculums and special educational programs must respect these historical traditions.

Between the Meriam report of 1928 and the late 1960's, several people studied the educational characteristics and needs of Native Americans. A systematic review of that literature is not within the scope of this paper. It was not until the Senate Subcommittee issued its final report[3] in 1969, that we reached a significant turning point in planning for the education of Native Americans. The report not only collected a great deal of data and testimony on the conditions of life for Native Americans, but it focused national attention on their status. Education became the focal point of the report and knowledge of the circumstances precipitated the desire and political concern necessary to initiate change. The educational challenge of the report is captured in these excerpts:

> Drop-out rates are twice the national average in both public and Federal schools. Some school districts have drop-out rates approaching 100 percent;
>
> Achievement levels of Indian children are two to three years below those of white students; and the Indian child

---

[2] Ibid., p. 412.

[3] United States Congress, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge, Hearing 91st Congress, 1st Session, No. 91-501 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969).

> falls progressively further behind the longer he stays in school;
>
> Only 1 percent of Indian children in elementary school have Indian teachers or principals;
>
> One-fourth of elementary and secondary school teachers--by their own admission--would prefer not to teach Indian children; and
>
> Indian children, more than any other minority group, believe themselves to be "below average" in intelligence. . .
>
> Fifty thousand Indian families live in unsanitary, dilapidated dwellings, many in huts, shanties, even abandoned automobiles;
>
> The average Indian income is $1,500, 75 percent below the national average;
>
> The unemployment rate among Indians is nearly 40 percent--more than 10 times the national average;
>
> The average age of death of the American Indian is 44 years; for all other Americans it is 65;
>
> The infant mortality rate is twice the national average; and
>
> Thousands of Indians have migrated into cities only to find themselves untrained for jobs and unprepared for urban life. Many of them return to the reservation more disillusioned and defeated than when they left. . . . The "first American" has become the "last American" in terms of an opportunity for employment, education, a decent income, and the chance for a full and rewarding life.
>
> There are no quick and easy solutions in this tragic state of affairs; but clearly, effective education lies at the heart of any lasting solution. And that education should no longer be one which assumes that cultural differences mean cultural inferiority. . . [4]

While the Senate Subcommittee Report presented its findings in a somewhat sensational manner, other studies reported similar findings. The National Study of American Indian Education reported that:

> --Indian children do not achieve as well on tests of school achievement as do the children of the white majority.
>
> --Indian children are (not) basically or genetically less or more intelligent than other children in America.
>
> --Indian children, on the average, are disadvantaged. It seems clear that many American Indian children are seriously handicapped for success in school due to the family and local community factors. They are disadvantaged

---

[4] Ibid., pp. ix-x.

> because their parents are poor, often illiterate, and inexperienced in the ways of the modern urban-industrial culture.
>
> --Most schools and educators have expected Indian children to accommodate to styles of instruction and curriculum which were not designed with reference to the special requirements of many Indian youngsters.
>
> --The complexities of cross-cultural education, though increasingly recognized, are imperfectly understood by most practitioners and Indian communities have not ordinarily been involved in the planning programs.
>
> --Physical health has improved substantially since 1950, but still lags behind that of the average group of Americans.
>
> --Psychiatrists in the Public Health Service say they have the impression that there are a higher proportion of Indian children with personal disturbance than they are accustomed to seeing in a typical white population, but there are no hard data to prove this.
>
> --Indian youth (on measures of self-esteem) score at about the same level of non-Indian youth of similar socioeconomic status. There are some small but interesting differences among the various tribal groups--and the urban Indians fall slightly below the rural and reservation groups.[5]

Many educators have responded [illegible]e challenge with urgent requests for resources. Some of the resources already available for the education of Native Americans are not properly spent. Too often, both basic support and special project resources are expended in programs which fail to meet the educational needs of Native American children and adults. The appropriation, allocation, distribution, management, and accountability for Native American education resources must be a matter of continuing concern. Equally important are the programmatic efforts which those resources will support. This paper is addressed to assisting those educators who must develop curriculums and programs to meet the challenges and needs in the education of Native Americans.

---

[5]Robert Havighurst, The National Study of American Indian Education, The Education of Indian Children and Youth, Series IV, No. 6 (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1970) pp. 6-9.

CHAPTER II

SOME IMPORTANT ASSUMPTIONS

The literature dealing with curriculum development and instructional practice is a rich source of information for educators charged with program development for Native Americans. But thousands of educators who have been trained in teacher colleges and graduate schools of education have so far not developed programs of instruction which meet the needs of Native Americans. The phrase "Indian education" is misleading when it is used to imply that learning and development are different processes among Native American children than among other children.

From a professional point of view, "Indian education" is no more appropriate than would be such phrases as "Indian dentistry," "Indian engineering," "Indian pharmacy," "Indian medicine," and so forth. The principles of learning taught in schools of education are applicable to Native American students, but the circumstances in which they are applied are frequently sufficiently different to require special programmatic attention.

These important differences, which appear to have a bearing on educational outcomes, can be grouped into socioeconomic personal-psychological, and cultural categories. Before these differences can be explored, some basic assumptions or understandings about life and education in Native American communities are essential. To Native Americans and others who are close to Native American community life, these assumptions are statements of the obvious. They must be emphasized because many educators in state departments of education, public schools, and federal

schools, which develop and implement programs to serve Native American students, frequently appear to be unaware of their meaning and importance. The following assumptions or understandings are basic to the development of effective educational programs for Native American children:

1. Native Americans are diverse peoples. The word "Indian," used as a collective describing all Native Americans, obscures important historical tribal differences. The "dominant" society readily perceives subtle differences within itself among persons of Jewish, English, Italian, or Scandinavian descent, but does not extend the same appreciation of differences to the Seminoles, Chippewas, Navajos and other tribes because they are all "Indians."

Recognition of cultural, historical, and current socioeconomic differences among sub-groups of Native Americans is of paramount importance in the development and implementation of educational programs which serve them. The following quotation illustrates the diverse circumstances of selected groups of Native Americans who have sought improved educational opportunity for their children:

> The Mohawk people on the St. Regis Akwesasne Reservation in New York did not seek recognition under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. For the tribe of approximately 6,000 people, the St. Regis Reservation is a state, rather than federal, reservation. The reservation area is divided between the United States and Canada and the status of the Jay Treaty which defined relations during the colonial period is unclear. Mohawk children receive educational services under the auspices of the Province of Ontario, the Province of Quebec, and the State of New York.
>
> The Miccosukee Tribe in Florida has only 230 members and is recognized by the Federal Government for the provision of some social services. The Miccosukee people communicate in their native language and evidence little assimilation as compared to the Mohawk people just described. This small tribe has already assumed local control of education through a contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to operate an ungraded elementary school, serving approximately 40 pupils, which was built and formerly operated as a federal Indian school.

Approximately one-third of the estimated 35,000 Native people in Minnesota live in the Twin City metropolitan area of St. Paul and Minneapolis (fourth largest concentration of urban Native Americans in the United States). These Native people come from many tribal backgrounds. Their most commonly-shared experiences come from being part of the movement of Native people to urban areas. In response to common problems, a number of Native organizations have been formed. The Native people tend to live in concentrations within the inner city. With the exception of an attempt by the American Indian Movement (AIM) to operate a free school, Native children are required to attend public schools in which they are truly minority groups.

The Navajo Reservation has a population of approximately 130,000 people and is the largest reservation in the United States, extending into the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. The Navajo Tribe has established programs for managing its own affairs, including education. Its geographic isolation has preserved its native language and a strong sense of tribal identity. Through their own tribal organization and political expertise, a number of educational innovations and variations include the Rough Rock School, operated by a truly local board of education and the Navajo Community (Junior) College. Large numbers of Navajo children are still served by federal day and boarding schools and by public schools.

The Tlingit and Haida Tribes of Southeast Alaska have approximately 11,000 members, scattered in about 24 geographically-isolated coastal towns and villages. A new and unique factor in the tribal life of the Tlingits and Haidas is the formation of the Sealaska Corporation. The Southeast Native Regional Organization was created in response to the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The formation of the Sealaska Corporation will enable the Tlingit and Haida tribes to make a regional response to education and other affairs and to project the Tlingits and Haidas into a more effective and professional relationship with the economic and social forces that shape their lives. . . Today Tlingit and Haida children attend a state-operated school, a BIA boarding school, one BIA day school, and a number of community public schools. . .

The Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsu Tribes, with a total population of 4,437, have approximately 2,750 members living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. In 1960, the educational median level measured at the seventh grade, and by 1972, the median increased to the tenth-grade level. Known as the Three Affiliated Tribes, they have been actively interested in the education of their children. During the last four years, approximately ninety percent of the high school graduates have entered college and vocational schools; and during the same period, they have

maintained one of the largest percentages of Indian college graduates in the northern plains area. This is not to say that the drop-out problem has been solved, but their educational progress has been achieved in spite of unfortunate past circumstances caused by the construction of the Garrison Dam. The dam project brought an inundation of tribal lands and homes, causing families and communities to move to higher ground and become scattered and permanently removed from historical landmarks and traditional ties to legendary sites. The children attend schools on and near the reservations and three Bureau schools. Parents are serving officially on school boards and on advisory committees required by JOM and Title I programs. Inasmuch as there are no boarding school facilities on the reservation, an extensive bus system has been necessary. The Tribal Business Council has supported and sought educational programs that will continue to educate their children, since they clearly recognize that education is the key to continued progress of their people and the development of their land and natural resources.

The term "Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma," designating the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole, has been in continuous use since 1876, when the United States Congress and the Office of Indian Affairs referred to them as such because, by that date, they had made remarkable advancements toward civilized life and customs. For almost three-quarters of a century, the Five Civilized Tribes had lived in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), after forced removal from Southeastern United States, as sovereign nations. Each had its own legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government and impressive capitol buildings.

With the advent of statehood in 1907, the Five Civilized Tribes gave up their sovereign tribal governments and became full citizens of Oklahoma. The administration of tribal affairs and government of the Five Civilized Tribes was carried out by the Principal Chief or Governor, who was appointed by the President of the United States until 1970, when all of the tribes held popular elections.

The Five Civilized Tribes now live in 42 counties of eastern and southern Oklahoma. The cultural status of tribal members ranges from persons who are highly educated and possess assimilated culture comparable to the most advanced non-Indians of the area, to those who are wholly uneducated and living at a very low level of existence. This is due primarily to lack of training which would prepare them for better employment opportunities and thereby permit them to improve their social and economic status. Along with the poverty is often found the language handicap, illiteracy,

> bad health conditions and other elements of minority adjustments which have left Indian communities socially and economically behind. Before, the Five Civilized Tribes were noted for their excellent tribal educational systems and schools, which were established as early as the 1830's; however, in 1907, these were turned over to the State and Indians have not kept pace with the non-Indians.
>
> Today, approximately 90 percent of the Indian students living in the Five Civilized Tribes area are attending public schools. There are two Federal Indian Board Schools and three peripheral dormitories located in the area. . . [6]

These brief sketches of Native American communities in diverse areas of the United States barely begin to describe the diversity in circumstances and culture among Native people. It cannot be overemphasized that those responsible for curriculum and special program development for Native Americans must be aware of this diversity, which should appropriately be taken into account at local level.

2. Native American languages persist in varying degrees. The discussion of Native language is really an extension of the preceding point about diversity. However, language and communication are so essential to the educational process that this area requires particular attention.

The Native language problem complicates educational procedures in at least two ways: (A) in a given tribal reservation setting, some children may learn the Native language first, some are bilingual, and others learn only English; and (B) learning a Native language appears to displace both vocabulary and concept development in English for many Native American children. The data in Table I, from the National Indian

---

[6]Special Education Subcommittee of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, Will Antell, Chairman, Between Two Milestones, The First Report to the President of the United States (The Subcommittee, 1972) pp. 29-34.

Indian Education Library Study, indicate the extent of Native language usage among samples of adults, students, and teachers from Native American communities.

The data in Table I indicate the nature of the educational problem relating to Native languages in three sample communities. It is interesting to note the relatively-high proportion of adults in each sample who spoke the Native language, and that this percentage declined somewhat among elementary pupils and to a considerable extent among secondary students. These data suggested an inverse relationship between facility in Native language and persistence in school.

The big question facing educators with responsibilities for planning curriculums or programs for Native Americans is, "How does one deal with the Native language situation?" The best work on this problem to date has been done by the Center for Applied Linguistics. In a setting of other recommendations supporting local control of schools serving Native Americans, the Center made these recommendations concerning Native languages:

> Recommendation 2.
> Final decisions about the implementation of language policies should be made by Indian tribes as directed by Indian parents, not by the BIA or other external authority.
>
> Recommendation 3.
> . . . the language of the home should be the language of beginning instruction, and special attention should be given to developing the English language skills of all children.
>
> Recommendation 3.2.
> When children enter school fluent in both the ancestral language and standard English, the local Indian educational authority should decide the role that each language should play in the child's school life.

TABLE I

PERCENT OF NATIVE AMERICAN RESPONDENTS INDICATING SPEAKING PROFICIENCY IN NATIVE LANGUAGES IN THREE NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITIES[7]

Age Group and Teachers	Native American Community and Language		
	Standing Rock (Dakota)	Rough Rock (Navajo)	Awkesasne (Mohawk)
Elementary Pupils	57	84	N.A.
Secondary Students	37	51	28
Adult	79	83	80
Elementary Teachers	N.A.[a]	58	7
Secondary Teachers	N.A.[b]	42	0

N.A. Not available.

[a]Three (or seven percent) of the elementary teachers were of Native American ancestry.

[b]None of the secondary teachers was of Native American ancestry.

[7]National Indian Education Association Library Project, Will Antell, Project Director, Designs for Library Services (University of Minnesota: Bureau of Field Studies and surveys, 1972).

Recommendation 3.5.
Beginners classes, which retain students for one year before entering first grade, should be abolished and kindergarten programs, linguistically and culturally appropriate to local needs, instituted wherever possible.

Recommendation 3.6.
When a student enters school speaking a non-standard, local variant of English, teachers should take care to adopt an accepting attitude toward the child's language and learn to build on the linguistic resources he brings to school.

Recommendation 3.7.
Attention should be given to enriching the English language skills of all children in BIA schools.

Recommendation 3.8.
Where children enter school speaking only standard English, the standard English curriculum of the area should be adapted to meet the cultural needs of the children.

Recommendation 5.1.
A new position, that of language development specialist, should be created and individuals hired for this position should be assigned to work directly in the schools.

Recommendation 6.1.
It should be mandatory for teachers and supervisory personnel involved in bilingual, kindergarten, or Head Start programs to be fluent in the Indian language being used for instruction.[8]

Implementing these recommendations for all Native American students represents a major challenge. The difficulty is reduced somewhat by the theme of local parental and tribal involvement which runs throughout. Local support makes the goals far more achievable. Problems still exist, however. The language problems in schools serving Native Americans from many tribes would be extremely difficult. Perhaps this is another message to close the large area boarding schools. The problem needs further study in urban or public school settings where children from many tribal

---

[8] Center for Applied Linguistics, Recommendations for Language Policy in Indian Education (The Center: 1973) pp. 3-14.

backgrounds are served. The important point to be emphasized is that the Native language factor cannot be ignored in educational planning for Native Americans.

3. Native American communities have expectations of involvement in educational planning. This understanding is essential to successful curriculum or program development. It is so basic that it could be restated, "Curriculum or educational program plans for Native American students must be developed through involvement at the local level." Treaties and statements by Native American leaders have, with few exceptions, afforded a high value to education. This value for education or knowledge as an abstraction has not, however, been extended to formal schooling in the establishment structure.

One does not have to search far among Native Americans to hear accounts of what the boarding school experience meant to children and parents. Many Native Americans can recall the fear, anguish, and loneliness associated with leaving their parents and going to a boarding school dormitory while they were elementary-age children. Parents did not want their children to leave, but they were helpless against the system. No wonder they would sometimes hide their own and other children when they ran away from school.

During and after the United States' takeover of tribal land, formal schooling was used as a means of destroying Native American cultures. The boarding schools effectively removed children from their parents, their communities, their language, and their ceremonies. It is a matter of public record that through schooling Native American "savages" should become "civilized." This public policy assumed that the government had a right to impart school-learned behavior which would change the lifestyle, the culture, of the next generation of Native Americans.

The policy of changing Native American culture through formal schooling was successful only to the extent that social disruption constitutes acceptable change. Against this background and because of it, Native Americans longed for the time when they would have a real voice in the policy-making and planning for the education of their children.

Less than a year after the report of the Special U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education was issued, an important policy statement, the Presidential Message of July 8, 1970, proposed "self-determination without termination" for Native American communities. Both the enthusiasm and the hesitancy felt by Native Americans are expressed in this excerpt from the Special Education Subcommittee Report:

> The Presidential Message of July 8, 1970 represents an historical milestone in the affairs of Native people. It acknowledged both the Federal Government's special obligation to Native people and a right of Native people to guide their own destiny. Self-determination is the new policy for Native education proposed to Congress by the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. This proposed policy has been enthusiastically received by many Native people because it promises alleviation of educational hardships endured by Native children in federal and public schools. It brings to these Native people a new hope that educational opportunity will become adequate and relevant for their children through their assumption of control. The members of the Subcommittee share in the enthusiasm for self-determination in the affairs of Native people, but are concerned that the new hope for educational opportunity among Native people will not lead to new despair over differences between promise and practice.[9]

Curriculum and program planners and developers should also be aware that this new federal policy was to be implemented through (A) the formation of local Native American boards of education to assume control of federal schools on or near reservations, and (B) the contracting of Johnson-O'Malley money directly with tribes, instead of state departments of education, where Native American children were served by public schools.

---

[9]Special Education Subcommittee of NCIO Report, pp. 23-24.

The failure of the traditional approaches to education for Native American children and the promise of the new federal policy statement have resulted in a number of organizations and activities to support local control. Among the organizations are the National Indian Education Association, the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, the Navajo Department of Education, and many similar local or regional educational organizations and activities. The other activities include a number of conferences and workshops dealing directly with the problems and responsibilities associated with locally-controlled educational opportunity for Native American children.

The point to be emphasized here is that people in Native American communities expect local involvement in educational planning and program development. They know that this is the only way to meet the requirements of diversity, language, and local needs or aspirations. Educators developing programs for Native Americans must not do it alone or far away, physically or organizationally.

The question is frequently asked, "What do Indian people want the schools to do for their children?" Native American individuals are often called upon to speak for all Native people on this question. A recent Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) study provides some interesting data on this question and is quoted in full:

> The following presents a rank order of the questionnaire items which is based on the strength or extent to which Indian people "agree" with the item. The ranking of the items is based on the total sample of 577 which includes parents, school board members, and tribal leaders. The first item presented is the educational goal that received the most agreement out of a total of 52 items. The percentage figure reflects the combined agreement of the "strongly agree" and "agree" points on the scale of the questionnaire.
>
> 1. (97%) Provide training for students desiring to enter special schools and institutions of higher learning.
>
> 2. (95%) Develop understanding and practices which will assure optimum health.

3. (94%) Make available financial aid and other assistance to qualified students seeking advanced training, be it college or vocational.

4. (94%) Develop in Indian students basic academic skills.

5. (93%) Give students an understanding of the social and economic world and to help them secure improved standards of living.

6. (93%) Provide vocational training which will qualify youth for gainful employment on or off the reservation or village.

7. (91%) Develop materials and teaching aids.

8. (90%) Provide guides for planning and conducting local school programs based on the needs of students.

9. (90%) Provide opportunities for professional growth of employees through inservice training, conferences, seminars, workshops, meetings, advanced courses.

10. (90%) There should be education programs in the BIA that are designed to meet the special education needs of physically/and or emotionally handicapped children and youth.

11. (89%) Make a special effort to reduce the high school dropout and increase the number of Indian youth who graduate from high school.

12. (89%) Carry out an effective program for students in Federal schools designed to prepare Indians for successful living on and off reservations.

13. (89%) Provide technical consultation in guidance, health education, home living, and other fields.

14. (89%) Cooperate with parent-teacher associations and local organizations in securing acceptance by Indians of responsibility for regular attendance.

15. (89%) Promote the education of Indian people so that they become qualified to work in schools which enroll Indian students.

16. (88%) To enable adults, by literacy training, to secure new or better jobs, qualify for vocational training, or enter a college degree program.

17. (88%) To provide learning experiences needed locally (consumer education, home management, defensive driving, arts, crafts), in order to function more effectively.

18. (88%) There should be education programs in the BIA that are designed to meet the special needs of the intellectually-exceptional Indian children and youth.

19. (87%) Secure regular school attendance of all Indian students until they graduate.

20. (87%) Be programmed to meet all the basic human needs of each student.

21. (86%) Secure for all Indian students the educational opportunities provided for other citizens through our system of public education.

22. (85%) All Indian youth and children should possess some vocational skill and at the same time should gain academic competence enough to provide them skills for participation as citizens in the American democracy.

23. (84%) The basic goal in education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs is to assure adequate educational opportunities for all Indian children of one-fourth or more degree of Indian blood within the continental United States and Alaska.

24. (84%) To provide literacy training opportunities to all Indian adults in Adult Basic Education (Below a 5th Grade Education) and General Education Development (High School Equivalency).

25. (83%) Secure construction of needed school plants for the BIA.

26. (83%) Develop on the part of Indian groups, State and local school officials recognition and acceptance of their full responsibilities for the education of Indians.

27. (83%) Include information regarding the various cultures in the school curriculum.

28. (83%) Appraise periodically tne need for boarding schools.

29. (81%) Retain the valuable elements of Indian life and to strengthen the pride of Indian groups and the recognition by non-Indians as to the contribution of the Indian heritage to the national life.

30. (81%) Indian youth and children should be entitled to an education from nursery through graduate school without financial barriers and limited only by the desire to learn and ability to take in such an education.

31. (80%) Provide temporary facilities to meet emergency situations.

32. (78%) Cooperate with officials in securing enforcement of applicable attendance laws when other means fail.

33. (78%) Have Indian students and youth achieve academically on a par with all students in the nation.

34. (76%) Secure the active participation of local Indians, employees and public school officials and patrons in all phases of the transfer and subsequent operation of the school.

35. (74%) Provide for research and surveys.

36. (70%) Prepare a program which transfers legal authority for school operations to Indian school boards. This would aim at the transition of advisory school boards to boards of education with legal authority.

37. (69%) Provide financial aid to qualifying public schools.

38. (69%) BIA off-reservation boarding schools should not be special purpose institutions. Rather, each should try to meet the needs of any student who is enrolled in the school.

39. (69%) BIA off-reservation boarding schools should be special purpose institutions with some of them providing vocational education, some college preparatory, some for special education, or some for the juvenile delinquent.

40. (69%) Take specific actions to involve Indian people in strengthening tribal government--including increased transfer of Federal programs to Indian control and increased percentage of Indians attending Indian-controlled schools.

41. (67%) Initiate other less-traditional arrangements for providing educational opportunities for students in isolated family units, including small high schools and boarding home arrangements.

42. (67%) Have Indian students achieve academically on a par with all Indian students in the nation.

43. (67%) Be programmed for learning of the kind that should take place in the student's own home.

44. (65%) Interpret Indian cultural values to non-Indian groups.

45. (61%) Identify needed public school construction for locations that qualify under P.L. 815.

46. (61%) All Indian youth should graduate from college and become employed in a profession.

47. (52%) Assure adequate educational programs in public schools.

48. (49%) Accept applicants for boarding schools on the basis of established criteria and admit only those for whom adequate provision cannot otherwise be made.

49. (45%) Transfer of the operation of Federal schools and school plants to tribal groups through orderly procedures.

50. (38%) Be a place providing custodial care only--let the learning take place in the students' own homes when they are there.

51. (34%) Transfer the operation of Federal schools and school plants to public school districts through orderly procedures.

52. (28%) Close boarding schools which established criteria indicate are no longer needed.[10]

4. Native American communities are made up of real-life situations.

In the past, too many educators, who should have known better, have approached Native American communities and their schools with memories of "construction-paper teepees" and other romantic remnants of elementary school social studies units. Native American people are proud of their heritage and celebrate traditional ceremonies, but they do not live in the past.

The problems faced by Native Americans in education and other areas of life are the real problems and conditions that exist now. Native Americans are fully aware of problems such as unemployment, health deficiencies, alcoholism, crime, and family disunity. They are typically ready to accept help from those who understand and extend a sincere desire to help. Native

---

[10] IERC Bulletin, Bureau of Indian Affairs Mimeographed Bulletin., pp. 9-12.

Americans have become justifiably suspicious and resentful of people who perceive their difficulties as a resource or opportunity for exploitation. A good example of this feeling is their reaction to much of the research that has been done.

The "knowledge for its own sake" mode may satisfy the canons of scholarship traditions in Western thought, but does little to help the Native Americans who live in or near poverty in rural areas and urban slums. The resentment is not against research or data gathering per se, but against "scholars" who seek academic credentials and reputations by collecting and reporting data about "Indians." This attitude is best described by a Plains Indian who said, "There have been a lot of people around from the colleges who wanted to talk to Grandma, but nothing ever came from any of it."

The educator working at the local level needs to be fully aware that Native American communities are not quiet, idyllic vestiges of the past. They are live, dynamic places where social, political, and economic forces are at work. There are differences in wealth, influence, and power among the people as in any other community. Local politics can be as intense in Native American communities as anywhere else. The point to be emphasized here is that the educational planner must recognize Native American communities for what they are and utilize local leadership potential in formulating goals and implementing programs.

5. When programs are developed, they must have realistic and tangible performance expectations. Native American people have heard many promises about education. Often, these promises were put into proposals that brought in federal or foundation money, but provided little in improved educational performance among the children. Native American parents want their children to learn to read, write, count, and display other evidence of academic success. Their expressed goals of education for their children are not

unlike those of other parents in the total society, but they do not always possess the skills or resources for helping their children achieve these goals.

Schools in the United States have developed a general credibility problem and a special credibility problem with Native Americans. In efforts to please politically or to obtain financial support, schools have broadened their goal statements to include objectives they are not equipped to achieve single-handedly. The schools have been drawn into the war on poverty, racial integration, sex education, drug education, and other areas under circumstances that have caused large segments of the general population, including Native American communities, to doubt their effectiveness as a social institution. Special curriculums or programs must be accountable for results.

It is the opinion of this writer that Native American student achievement should be on a par with non-Native student achievement in a specified population or sub-population. In other words, the school should be held professionally responsible for Native American students learning academic skills and participating in co-curricular activities in the same measure as non-Natives. The school's legitimate responsibility is to teach knowledge and skills which can be of use in community development and are marketable in the larger society for Native American students who exercise their choice of leaving the reservation.

If this performance standard was accepted by local parents, they must participate in the selection of the comparison group. The performance standard could consist of state norms, national norms, or the average performance of non-Native students in the school or in surrounding districts. The general goal statements must be specific, measurable, and readily

understood. For example, if the performance expectations were stated in terms of equality with non-Native students, the performance outcomes or standards might be stated for each grade level as follows:

A. Kindergarten
   1) The proportion of five-year-old Indian pupils on the school census who are enrolled in kindergarten should be approximately equal to the proportion of five-year-old non-Indians on the school census who are enrolled in kindergarten.
   2) The average daily attendance of Indian pupils enrolled in kindergarten should be approximately equal to average daily attendance of non-Indian pupils enrolled in kindergarten.
   3) The proportion of Indian pupils enrolled in kindergarten reporting pre-school medical and dental examinations should be approximately equal to non-Indian pupils enrolled in kindergarten reporting pre-school medical and dental examinations.

B. Grade 1
   1) The average daily attendance of Indian pupils enrolled in grade 1 should be approximately equal to the average daily attendance of non-Indian pupils enrolled in grade 1.
   2) The average reading achievement of Indian pupils enrolled in grade 1 should be approximately equal to the average reading achievement of non-Indian pupils enrolled in grade 1.
   3) The basic mathematical achievement of Indian pupils enrolled in grade 1 should be approximately equal to the basic mathemtical achievement of non-Indian pupils enrolled in grade 1.

. . .

L. Grade 11
   1) The average daily attendance of Indian students enrolled in grade 11 should be approximately equal to average daily attendance of non-Indian students enrolled in grade 11.
   2) The average reading achievement of Indian students enrolled in grade 11 should be approximately equal to average reading achievement of non-Indian students enrolled in grade 11.
   3) The average social studies achievement of Indian students enrolled in grade 11 should be approximately equal to average social studies achievement of non-Indians enrolled in grade 11.
   4) The average science achievement of Indian students enrolled in grade 11 should be approximately equal to average science achievement of non-Indians enrolled in grade 11.
   5) The average English achievement of Indian students should be approximately equal to the average English achievement of non-Indians enrolled in grade 11.

6) The average quantitative thinking of Indian students enrolled in grade 11 should be approximately equal to average quantitative thinking development of non-Indian students enrolled in grade 11.
7) The proportion of male Indian students enrolled in grade 11 participating in athletic activities (football, basketball, westling, or track) should be approximately equal to the proportion of male non-Indian students enrolled in grade 11 participating in athletic activities.
8) The proportion of Indian students enrolled in grade 11 participating in music (band and chorus) should be approximately equal to the proportion of non-Indian students enrolled in grade 11 participating in music.
9) The proportion of Indian students enrolled in grade 11 participating in speech and dramatic activities should be approximately equal to the proportion of non-Indian students enrolled in grade 11. . . .[11]

Goals of this type can be readily stated in performance terms, are logically and appropriately within the function of the school, and can be readily adapted to a local community setting.

These understandings are basic: (A) Native Americans are diverse peoples; (B) Native language usage varies from one community to another; (C) Native Americans want and expect local control and participation in school policy formation; (D) Native communities are not romantic villages, but aggregates of people dealing with real socioeconomic problems; and (E) schools and programs serving Native American children must show results. With these understandings in mind, we can take a more meaningful look at culture, psychological characteristics, and socioeconomic status in relation to formal education.

---

[11]Will Antell, A Model for the Distribution of Johnson-O'Malley Funds Based on Educational Needs (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1973) pp. 57-58, 63-64.

CHAPTER III

THE CULTURE ISSUE

Culture is defined in this paper as the totality of social institutions, knowledge, customs, skills, and expressive arts of a group of people at a given period of time. From the basic understanding of Native American diversity, it follows that there is no "Indian culture," but there are in fact many Native American cultures, each associated with a particular tribal heritage. The definition employed here is also important because of its limitation to "a group of people at a given period of time." This limitation is worthy of discussion because it provides a key to the distinction which is sometimes made between "traditional" and "contemporary" Native American culture.

Confusion and lack of precise definition of the traditional-versus-contemporary culture issue exist in Native American and other communities. Dealing adequately with the substance of Native American cultures, or even with the substance of one of them, is far beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, discussion will center about culture as a phenomenon or a concept in terms that may prove useful to educational curriculum or program planners and developers.

Before we can deal directly with the traditional-contemporary culture issue, another concept concerning culture must be emphasized. Culture is dynamic; it is always changing. Social institutions such as the family, kinship, religion, education, and others represent commonly-accepted responses to universal problems unique to a particular tribe or group of people at a particular period in time.

p 24 blank

As the environment and social problems gradually changed, social institutions also changed gradually from one generation to the next. A part of each generation's culture is its knowledge and inheritance from the past. During periods of little social and physical environmental change, the cultures remained relatively stable and their forms persisted long enough to be regarded as "traditional." However, those institutions which persisted long enough to become traditional were also subjected to moderate, if insignificant, change. The introduction of the horse and firearms are examples of environmental factors that had considerable impact in changing the culture or lifestyles of many tribal groups.

The force with the greatest impact on Native American cultures was the rapid westward expansion of European colonials. In a rather short period of time, the social and physical environments of nearly all Native American tribes changed dramatically. Lands which Native Americans perceived as their birthright to use for life-support were taken away, leaders were killed or their leadership role denied, tribal groups were relocated or confined to large prisoner-of-war camps called "reservations."

The social environment of Native Americans was also changed dramatically during this period. The tribal sovereignty they enjoyed before was disregarded and the institution of tribal self-government was replaced by an outside Bureau of Indian Affairs. Until the early twentieth century, most Native Americans had no legal citizenship status. The loss of land and food resources, such as the buffalo, reduced them from self-sufficient family and kinship groups to an aggregate of dependent people for whom the previous institutions of interpersonal relationships were no longer functional. The dependency or "blanket Indian" syndrome led to the breakdown of Native American family patterns.

The institution of education was changed from one of social apprenticeship in the local community to one of formal schooling, far removed from family and community. The traditions, language, arts, and customs of the Native Americans were not respected by the dominant society. To be "Indian," any "Indian," was to be inferior, untrustworthy, and uncivilized.

Culture, as defined, is a changing phenomenon, descriptive of a particular group of people at a given time. The culture of the two or three generations of Native Americans who lived during the westward expansion period had severe adjustments to make. New institutions, knowledge, and behavior patterns or customs were suddenly required to deal with the destruction of tribal self-government, the loss of food sources, the denial of freedom to move about, and the forced control of a foreign governing agency.

The changes or adaptations which the Native American cultures made are referred to collectively as "assimilation" or "degree of assimilation." The "traditional cultures" of Native Americans are really remnants of their lifestyles prior to the European westward expansion and have undergone slight-to-moderate change. These remnant customs have taken on symbolic meaning and are an important source of identity for many Native Americans.

Curriculum and program developers must recognize that the degree of assimilation is another element of Native American diversity. Those Native American tribes closest to centers of European colonial population or whose lands were desired for economic development (a more acceptable word than exploitation) were subjected to the greatest change pressures. These tribes were primarily the ones that suffered forced relocation and other social upheavals. In some areas, such as parts of the Southwest, Native Americans were subjected to less severe change forces. As a result, when dealing with

traditional Native American culture, the educator faces a continuum of contemporary cultures, with extremes ranging from lifestyles quite similar to what they were over a hundred years ago to lifestyles almost totally integrated with the contemporary industrial society.

Contemporary Native American cultures are the ways that community groups of Native Americans live today. The Special Education Subcommittee of the NCIO called attention to the need to recognize the changing nature of Native communities:

> Beyond the family, the local community becomes the basic unit of social organization. In spite of the problems in defining communities, there was an agreement that the local community is essential to the way of Native life. Communities are more than places. They consist of aggregates of human relationships and interdependencies. In societies of all eras, natural communities have been identified and officially recognized. . . . In American and Alaskan Native nations, tribes, clans, bands, villages, and other units emerged as recognized communities.
>
> Patterns of economic development and migration in the United States have caused the birth or revitalization of some communities and the decline or disappearance of others. With the exception of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Federal Government has made no attempt to officially recognize Native communities other than those tribal groups which existed during the 18th and 19th century period of European colonization and western expansion. . . . Many groups of Native people are true communities, even though their history cannot be traced to a federal treaty, statute, or to incorporation under the Indian Reorganization Act. . . . Native people who move to urban areas either of their own accord or under the auspices of government relocation programs can constitute a "Native community" when they form organizations to maintain cultural traditions or advance common interests. Likewise, a "Native community" can exist under the circumstances of the terminated Menominee people, in spite of the fact that they no longer have tax exempt status for their lands. . . . [12]

The lifestyles or cultures in contemporary Native American communities involve the totality of social institutions, knowledge, skills, customs, and

---

[12]Special Education Subcommittee of the NCIO Report, pp. 27-28.

artistic expression of a group of Native Americans living today. The description would have to embrace family relationships, child-rearing practices, religion, government, law enforcement, work, education, and a host of other variables.

One important facet of total contemporary Native American cultures is their place on the continuum of traditional culture described earlier. The role that tradition plays in contemporary Native American life is a significant variable. For the curriculum or educational program planner to appreciate the differences in traditional culture and degree of assimilation in contemporary culture, he or she would have to live with Native Americans for awhile in places like Second Mesa, Arizona; Tulsa, Oklahoma; Pine Ridge, South Dakota; and Akwesasne, New York.

Such a living experience would provide a great deal more appreciation of the varied roles of traditional culture. It could produce an even more important awareness of the diversity of contemporary cultures of Native Americans as components or subcultures of the total national culture, if indeed there is a "national" culture. These definitions of culture and traditional-versus-contemporary culture are lengthy because they explain as well as define. In summary, contemporary Native American cultures are <u>now</u>; traditional Native American cultures are historically-based elements in contemporary culture, of varying scope and depending on local circumstances.

Once the educational planner is sufficiently aware of Native American cultures, how can he deal with them in formal school curriculums? This paper will consider that question by (A) pointing out some cautions about a current educational trend, and (B) proposing a general educational planning approach.

The current educational trend in the Native American culture area is the emergence of "Indian studies" programs. When asked his impressions of Indian studies programs at a major university, a Native American graduate student replied, "It's okay, but it's really more for white men -- not Indians." Making non-Natives aware of Native American history and traditions is an important step in inter-racial understanding, and programs to accomplish this should be endorsed (but not financially supported) by Native American communities. However, educational institutions at any level must not be allowed to feel that they have discharged their educational obligations to Native people through the institution of an "Indian studies" program.

Too often, well-intentioned, but inadequately-informed planners or developers, would build "Indian studies" programs into elementary and secondary curriculums to "meet the needs" of Native American students. Program justifications involve buzz-word phrases, like "meeting needs," which have appeal but are only superficially understood. Meeting the real needs of Native Americans goes far beyond an over-generalized treatment of their cultures in a pattern of formal schooling.

A digression from "culture" as a phenomenon to a consideration of general "needs" of Native Americans is appropriate at this point. Formal education is a need, but falls further down the list after the immediacies of legal status in relation to land, mineral, and water rights, civil rights, employment opportunity, housing, medical care, and professional help with social problems, such as alcoholism, criminal justice, and broken homes.

The importance of education lies in its longer-range potential for interrupting the poverty cycle and for providing Native American communities with professionally-trained leaders and informed followers who have the determination and the skill to help solve their own problems. This goal

cannot be achieved by education alone, but it cannot be achieved at all without relevant and purposeful education.

The mere inclusion of an "Indian studies" program, either as a separate course or as part of social studies, is not enough. In fact, adding an "Indian Revel" flavor to existing school curriculums and delivery systems may be illusory and more beneficial to the conscience of the dominant society than to meeting the needs of Native Americans.

Typically, current efforts at curriculum development in school systems that now recognize the existence of a local Native American community start with the appointment of a Native American advisory committee and the employment of Native American teacher aides. These early steps increase attention to and respect for Native American traditions. Library collections of books and periodicals dealing with Native American affairs increase, collections of artifacts appear here and there in the school buildings, and the school establishment has tangible proof that it is not prejudiced against "Indians."

These curricular developments are to be applauded, because for the white man they represent a major breakthrough, but for Native Americans they are not enough and may be irrelevant to the long-range solution of social needs and problems facing Native American communities. Effective curriculum development for Native Americans is dependent on respect for their cultures, but more is needed.

Program developers serving Native Americans must be sensitive to culture, but they must realize that the school is only one source of cultural learning experiences. Curriculum and program developers should keep these points in mind:

1. Native American students would acquire a culture, their own, even if they did not attend school. The culture would be different, but no one

lives in a cultural vacuum. The school has been and still remains a vehicle for the transmission of the dominant culture, but it does not and cannot do it alone. The family, the peer group, the church, and other institutions play vital roles. The public school cannot legally and ethically deal with intimate and personal issues and decisions about values, religion, and morality -- matters very close to the heart of culture.

The most effective broad role of the school in the area of culture is to teach tolerance and appreciation by example and simply accept and respect diverse Native American cultures for what they are today. This change alone would represent a dramatic departure from the traditional stereotypic and disparaging treatments Native Americans have received in textbook development. In short, don't get "up tight" trying to teach Native Americans how to be "Indians;" there are other things that schools can do that will have must greater long-term benefits.

2. Involve local Native Americans in curriculum and program development, not just because they are "Indians" but because they are citizens and parents with vital interests in their children. You will find that they have greater concerns about the acceptance and progress of their children than they have hangups about culture. If culture is an issue, they can help you. Only a Native American who has been reared in a particular tribal setting is capable of fully understanding and appreciating it. But rearing in the local tribal culture is no guarantee that the individual can be analytical or articulate about it. In brief, use local advisory committees, consultants, and teacher aides to keep local school programs from becoming culturally offensive, but expect them to participate as interested citizens and parents rather than as professional educators or cultural anthropologists.

3. If a curriculum developer is not a Native American or is a Native American working for another tribe, he or she should make a deliberate effort to learn about the local culture. The best way to learn is to develop friendships and participate in activities. Reading can also be a source of information, but however you learn, do it to alleviate your own ignorance and not for teaching local Native Americans their culture.

CHAPTER IV

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The increased awareness of Native Americans has had its psychological dimensions. These dimensions cover a broad range of personal, largely emotion-based aspects of what it feels like to have the "Indian experience." When non-Natives think of the psychological effects of being "Indian," they usually focus the problems and tensions expressed in terms of the dominant society values. There is no doubt that personal-psychological problems abound in Native American communities. How could Native Americans or any people exposed to the intense social changes of the westward expansion respond without severe adjustment problems? The problems of identity crisis, suicide, alcoholism, dependency, school drop-out, and others need the best professional help and treatment. In approaching these problems through education and other means, two extremely important points should be borne in mind.

1. <u>There are many positive psychological aspects of Native American cultural experiences</u>. Non-Native educators, social workers, psychologists, and others approach Native American communities searching for and analyzing problems in terms of the norms in the dominant society. Certainly they find the problems, but there is something they miss. Native Americans find a measure of inner strength and pride in being descendants of people who suffered injustice and yet survived under the leadership of great and wise men. Native Americans feel pride, as well as sadness, from the realization that certain lands were the home of their ancestors for generations. There is a source of pride and meaning in participating in traditional ceremonies.

p 34 blank

These inner feelings of Native Americans are not easily communicated, but nourish the roots of a movement described as "the rebirth of tribalism" and are generally missed, ignored, or misunderstood by non-Natives working on the "Indian problem."

2. The real psychological problems of Native Americans didn't just happen; they have causes that can be remedied in time. There are those who believe that Native Americans have certain psychological traits or characteristics because they are "Indian." There are those who have defined "Indians" as people who don't work, drink too much, have loose morals, live in tarpaper shacks, etc. People who believe that undesirable psychological effects are normal among Native Americans cannot help them, regardless of their ancestry. But non-Natives who are sincere and who really understand these cause-and-effect relationships can be of great help to Native American communities. When Native Americans identify these sensitive people, they welcome their assistance in economic development, social work, education, and other fields.

There is a growing amount of information available on the personal-psychological circumstances of Native Americans. Dealing directly with unemployment, family crises, alcoholism, suicide, and other social problems with important psychological dimensions is not the responsibility of the school. It would be fortunate if the school could solve these problems, but they cannot do it alone in spite of the sweeping goal statements that are made about "education for life."

But the school can make a significant contribution and should concentrate its efforts where it can be most effective. In the area of psychological effects, the prime concern of the school should be adjustment to the learning environment. The Native American student must feel accepted and comfortable in the learning environment before any other educational objectives can be achieved.

It is in this area that those who plan, develop, and implement curriculums or educational programs can make a most significant contribution. They must have insights into the states of mind or feelings that cause Native American students to be turned off by learning activities and to withdraw from the school setting entirely. It is beyond the scope of this paper to review the growing amount of literature related to the school adjustment of Native American students. The most valuable studies go beyond statistical descriptions of the symptoms and deal with causes.

Research studies concerned with dissatisfaction in school indicate many reasons for poor adjustment. In a followup study of Native Americans who dropped out of a rural midwest high school, drop-outs gave their reasons for leaving in the rank order indicated:

1. No encouragement from parents to go to school,
2. Lack of cultural identity (with what went on in the school),
3. Insufficient or poor clothing,
4. Insensitive or indifferent teachers, and
5. Discrimination by other students.

The parents of these Native American drop-outs perceived the five most important causative factors to be:

1. No religious training in the home,
2. Drinking by parents,
3. Broken home (parents divorced or separated, mother widowed, etc.),
4. No Indian teachers, counselors, or administrators in the system, and
5. Discrimination by other students.

Interestingly, school personnel identified the five most important causes as:

1. No encouragement from parents to go to school,

2. Lack of cultural identity (lack of positive self-image),

3. Broken home,

4. Peer pressure, and

5. Insensitive or indifferent teachers.[13]

While the sample was small, it is an example of useful research because it focuses intensively on one school community serving Native Americans and implies needed curricular or programmatic efforts to make Native American students more comfortable with the learning environment.

Another study of Native American students who withdrew from an urban high school provides insight into the more personal or psychological side of Native American adjustment to school. The School-Academic Scale of the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory and the Minnesota School Affect Assessment Instrument were administered to twenty urban Native Americans attending a special program sponsored by a Native American organization. The researcher concluded in part:

> The Chippewa Indian students in this study indicated a generally negative perception of school climate. . . . The students tended to perceive school as an oppressive experience. They perceived it as a place that has too many rules; some teachers who favor other students more than them; some teachers show apathy toward students' personal feelings; brighter students who receive too much attention while slower students do not receive as much; and some teachers who do not desire to assist every student to learn. The majority of students were not proud of their school. They perceived a lack of personal acquaintance among most of the students. They felt that if they were good students, their lives would be happier. Although the majority of students perceived themselves as expecting not to do very well, in school, they felt they were just as important in the school as any other student.[14]

---

[13]Chris Cavendar, "A Study of Community Attitudes in Regard to Why Indian Students Drop Out of the Granite Falls High School," Problems and Promises Indian Education Seminar Papers (Division of Educational Administration, University of Minnesota, 1971) pp. 279-352.

[14]Duveen Keene, Self-Image and Student Perception of School Climate Among Urban Indian Students with High Drop-out Potential (Unpublished Master's Paper, University of Minnesota, 1972) pp. 61-62.

While the findings of these two studies cannot be generalized to all Native American students and all educational settings, they illustrate the type of localized research that needs to be done by curriculum planners and developers. They also give some insight into the nature of the problems that must be addressed in making Native Americans comfortable in the learning environment. Curriculums and delivery strategies must take Native American lifestyles and cultures into account, always remembering that the culture of poverty may be a major part of that lifestyle. Curriculum developers must transcend the myths about competition and the public schools being the prime source of social mobility. The program must strive to overcome the educational disadvantages associated with lower socioeconomic status.

Making the Native American student comfortable in the learning environment is not an easy task, but many strategies are available. Selected strategies which seem to hold the most promise include:

1. Home-school relations. The schools must always be in partnership with the home. Parents directly and indirectly influence or reinforce student attitudes toward school. Historically, schools have taken children away from Native American parents. That direction must be dramatically reversed and the parents must experience genuine personal involvement in the schooling of their children. In some schools, home-school coordinators have been effective. It is important, however, that the home-school coordinators be more than attendance officers or Native American surrogates for officials of the school establishment.

2. Coordination among social agencies. Frequently, the causes of poor school performance or non-attendance are beyond the ability of the school to control. Solutions to many of these problems require help and support of

BIA or public social welfare agencies. Many times, social agencies are aware of home situations or problems about which the school staff should be informed. Coordination and professional cooperation must replace inter-agency competition and the hardening of professional conscience which sometimes occurs when disadvantaged clients are involved.

3. Staff sensitivity. Teachers, counselors, and administrators need to accept and appreciate the culture of the Native American experience. Employing Native Americans as aides, but particularly as professionals, is as good for the staff as it is for the student body. Without Native American professionals, it is too easy for the staff to perceive Indian education as more of a source of special revenue than their special responsibility. A word of caution is extremely important at this point. The mere fact that a teacher or counselor is of Native American ancestry does not automatically make him or her a good teacher for Native American students. Many Native Americans who have "made it" ascribe their success to rugged self-determination. Their drill-sergeant formulas for success may have worked for them, but the attitudes underlying rugged individualism seldom offer appropriate approaches to Native American children and young adults.

4. Program content. Native Americans are understandably and justifiably sensitive to the treatment their ancestors received. A growing amount of research has shown that misconceptions, myths, inaccuracies, and stereotypes about Native Americans are or have been common in the curriculums of most schools. The words "savage," "lazy," "heathen" have a special sting for Native Americans. From its own hearings and reviews of studies, the Senate Subcommittee reported:

> The manner in which Indians are treated in textbooks--one of the most powerful means by which our society transmits ideas from generation to generation--typifies the misunderstanding the American public as a whole has regarding the

> Indian, and indicates how misconceptions can become part of a person's mindset. After examining more than a hundred history texts, one historian concluded that the American Indian has been obliterated, defamed, disparaged, and disembodied. He noted that they are often viewed as subhuman wild beasts in the path of civilization, that "Indian menace" and "Indian peril" and "savage barrier" are commonly found descriptions. Other authors talk about the "idle, shiftless savage" who "was never so happy as when, in the dead of night, he roused his sleeping enemies with an unearthly yell, and massacred them by the light of their burning homes." . . . The president of the American Indian Historical Society told the Subcommittee, "There is not one Indian child who has not come home in shame and tears after one of those sessions in which he is taught that his people were dirty, animal-like, something less than human beings."[15]

After reviewing several current curriculum guides dealing with Native Americans and pointing out their weaknesses in this area, one researcher concluded:

> People unaware of the problems of cross-cultural communication may regard the points discussed . . . as inconsequential. . . . they may question aspects of the curriculum guides which have been characterized as being degrading and generating negative feelings about Indians. However, these "seemingly unimportant issues" cause the most damage to the self concept of Indians. Seemingly unimportant statements often communicate the exact feelings of the dominant culture to the Indian pupil. . . .[16]

We have enough data to recognize this problem; what is needed now is action.

5. Positive recognition of local Native American culture. Borrowing authentic designs in logos, decoration, and design may seem like a simple thing and really it is, but it constitutes an important and meaningful gesture. Let the Native American participate in the selection.

6. Individualize instruction. Don't make Native Americans compete in learning situations where they know they are destined to lose before they

---

[15]Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, p. 23.

[16]Carol Dodge, "An Analysis of Curriculum Materials to Develop Guidelines for American Indian Resource Units in Elementary Schools," Problems and Promises Indian Education Seminar Papers (Division of Educational Administration, University of Minnesota, 1971) p. 385.

start. The reward for learning should be something other than the satisfaction of beating someone else. Teachers betray their professional trust when they make position on the "normal curve" more important than subject-matter mastery in terms of the reward system. If educators want to serve Native Americans, their role must be to teach and not to sort.

7. Bilingual programs. Special programs are needed in communities where Native Americans come to school from homes in which a Native language is the only or the primary tongue. Bilingual materials need to be developed so that the student can learn to communicate with "outsiders" and eventually gain access to bodies of knowledge not translated into Native languages. The need for bilingual programs is utilitarian -- to facilitate communications with Native American children. The basic understanding and the Center for Applied Linguistics recommendations, discussed in Chapter II, are relevant to Native American student adjustment to the learning environment.

The strategies or programs listed above do not exhaust the possibilities. The point is that Native Americans must be comfortable in the learning environment before they can achieve appropriate educational goals. There are things that educational program developers can do to facilitate the adjustment. Merely initiating a general "Indian studies" program is not enough.

CHAPTER V

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Making Native American students psychologically comfortable in school is important, but it is not enough. While they attend school they must have curriculums or programs to provide levels of knowledge and skill that will make them socially, economically, and politically self-sufficient and effective. At this point, the distinction between traditional and contemporary culture becomes interrelated with educational programs. While traditional cultures have identity and time-frame values to Native Americans, they are not appropriate for guiding the entire educational program.

Contemporary Native American cultures are much more relevant. A contemporary culture provides the best indicators of what the adult world may be like for the Native American youths who are now in school. Contemporary culture will be different tomorrow from what it is today, and education must prepare people for change, rather than condition them to respond to predetermined or assumed social conditions. This point about education is important because contemporary Native American leaders want cultural change and are planning for it.

Forward-looking Native Americans are seeking economic and social development that would improve the quality of life in Native American communities. They seek commercial and industrial development to provide employment opportunity and better social services. The extent of this trend varies from one community to another, depending on economic resources and local political systems. But the wave of the future is with the progressive Native

American leaders who recognize the importance of planned, goal-oriented development programs. Effective education must gear to and support these progressive development programs.

An educational program with an alternative emphasis on traditional remnants of Native American cultures could become too preoccupied with leather tanning, beadwork, and basket making. These, and other traditional arts and crafts, are fine for avocational or cultural purposes, but to emphasize them in the midst of an industrial society is to invite continued poverty and a diminishing share of the gross national product.

The socioeconomic status of Native Americans therefore becomes a major guidepost in the planning of curriculums and programs for them. Socio-economic status is merely another name for quality of life. It is a relative thing, made up of such indicators as nutrition, housing, personal income, health, education, employment, and incidence of various social problems. Statistics on these various indicators are available from the federal census and other sources.

The challenge to education goes beyond quantifying and identifying the problems. As important as these steps are, we must develop programs and strategies that will cope with the problems and produce change. Educational planners and developers need data from the local level. To point out some of the socioeconomic indicators that ought to be local programmatic concerns, the following selected items of information are cited:

1. The Native American population is increasing and is becoming more and more urban. In 1970, there were 763,594 Native Americans living in the United States, an increase of 51.4 percent over the 1960 count of 523,591. This increase can be compared with a 13 percent growth for the total population. Of all Native Americans, 31 percent or 340,367 lived in urban areas.

Over half the Native American population lived in the five states of Arizona, California, New Mexico, North Carolina, and Oklahoma.[17] These data indicate that educational needs are increasing in relation to the numbers to be served.

2. In 1970, the median schooling for Native Americans over 25 years of age was 9.8 years. Of this group, about one-third had completed high school. These figures compare with a national median of 12.1 years of schooling and 52.3 percent high school completion for the total population.[18]

Native American educational statistics have improved markedly since 1960, when only 20 percent had completed high school, but a great deal of work remains to be done. A high school education has long been considered a requirement for initial employment in many areas and admission to vocational schools and colleges. Until Native Americans are completing high school in at least the same proportion as the total population, they will suffer a distinct educational disadvantage.

3. Employment may be viewed as the sale of personal skills or services. The 1970 Census indicated that 63.4 percent of Native American males over 16 years of age were in the labor force, and their median income was $3,509.[19] These data reflect the total Native American population; median income drops and unemployment rises in rural areas, where unemployment rates may consistently run over 40 percent.

The importance of employment cannot be overemphasized. Without income from employment, the Native American has no way to respond effectively to the problems of health, housing, and other areas, and becomes dependent on

---

[17] United States Department of Commerce, Subject Report: American Indians (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973) p. 1.

[18] Ibid., p. 18.

[19] Ibid., p. 27.

government agencies. Without adequate income, families are not functional social units in contemporary society. Native American family income had extremely wide ranges; the median was $5,832, compared with $9,590 for the population as a whole. Generally, the median family income was considerably lower on reservations. These data present the basic educational challenge. Native American students must be trained to support economic development (but not exploitation), which will enable them to earn incomes sufficient to maintain stable family life.

4. Educational planners need to know what kinds of work skills Native Americans have. The numbers and percentages of all employed Native Americans over 16 years old given below are listed by occupational groups:[20]

Occupation Group	Number	Percent
Professional, technical and kindred workers	18,938	9.9
Managers and administrators	7,623	4.0
Sales workers	5,712	3.0
Clerical and kindred workers	25,132	13.2
Craftsmen, foreman, and kindred workers	27,303	14.4
Operatives, including transport	41,631	21.9
Laborers, except farm	16,318	8.6
Farmers and farm managers	3,084	1.6
Farm laborers	7,925	4.2
Service workers	31,448	16.5
Private household workers	5,119	2.7
Total male and female employed	190,233	100.0

[20] Ibid., p. 98.

These data suggest that more Native Americans need to acquire skills in the professional, technical, and managerial occupational groups. This need has been recognized, but not met, through federally-supported graduate training programs in law, school administration, and business management. More are needed. This problem is not exclusively an educational one, but education is the key to solution. Native American communities lag in development for several reasons: One, a lack of highly-trained manpower; another, the lack of capital. Without both capital and trained manpower, the well-trained Native Americans must migrate to urban areas for income-producing opportunities.

5. Health problems, a major concern among Native Americans, seem to be most directly related to their economic status and, therefore, indirectly tied to education. Table 3-3 from Sorkin[21] is quoted in part because of the information and insight it provides. Educational programs can make Native Americans more aware of the causes of these diseases and the facilities available for treatment, and instill the desire for better health.

Table 3-3

Incidence Rates for Various Infectious Diseases, Reservation Indians and All Races, 1965 (Annual rate per 100,000 population)

Disease	Indians	All Races
Tuberculosis	175.9	25.3
Syphilis	113.4	58.2
Dysentery	365.9	5.7
Strep Throat	2,189.1	203.9
Whooping Cough	17.8	3.5
Measles	761.3	135.1
Chickenpox	553.7	127.6
Mumps	291.6	108.7
Hepatitis	139.1	17.5

[21] Alan L. Sorkin, American Indians and Federal Aids (The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1971) p. 55.

6. Housing is a serious problem for Native Americans which the school cannot solve directly, but can make a contribution as an involved community agency. The interrelation of housing and health problems is indicated by this survey report:

> The principal cause of the high incidence of infectious disease are the low socioeconomic status of reservation Indians and deplorable housing. According to a 1966 survey, 75 percent of all reservation homes are substandard, with 50 percent so dilapidated as to be beyond repair. On the Navajo Reservation, where nearly one-third of the nation's reservation Indians live, only 20 percent of the homes have running water and adequate means of waste disposal and only 17 percent have electricity. One-half of all the families use a potentially-contaminated water source.[22]

Further data could be cited to provide greater detail and to extend the list of problems. Curriculum and educational program developers must study existing data and collect more, particularly at the local level. The socioeconomic data about Native Americans is important because it provides the most valid justification for educational efforts. The school cannot solve any of these problems directly, at least in the short run. The school can only teach knowledge and skills so that pupils can contribute to the solutions of these problems after they have left school.

High-sounding educational objectives are meaningless when their formulators offer excuses like "cultural deprivation," "poor home environment," or "adverse socioeconomic status" for below-average academic achievement by Native Americans. Part of the real cause lies with the schools themselves. But blame is not important. What is important is that the schools make positive and innovative changes which enable their Native American graduates to narrow or eliminate the gap between Native Americans and other Americans on all indices of quality of life.

---

[22] Ibid., p. 56.

CHAPTER VI

INTERACTION AND INNER-ACTION

Formal schooling for Native Americans is at a crossroads. It is general knowledge that schools serving Native American students have failed, not only to carry out loosely-stated achievement goals, but also to make Native American students like those in the population at large. From experience, we have learned that a set pattern or organization of education administered from the federal or state level is not the answer. Contemporary Native American cultures require educational opportunity. Effective educational opportunity cannot come as prescriptions from learning laboratories, but only as an understanding response to Native American cultures, the psychological implications of being "Indian," and a realistic appraisal of the socioeconomic status of Native Americans.

The understanding response must include awareness of Native American diversity (including Native languages), of Native Americans' growing expectation of involvement in educational planning, the economic and political realities of day-to-day life in Native American communities, and of the urgent need to produce desirable and measurable results. Based on these basic understandings, the following generalizations about effective curriculums or educational programs occur from the interaction of traditional-contemporary culture, the Native American state of mind, and current socioeconomic status:

1. Effective curriculums or educational programs for Native Americans will not and cannot be developed by one or even a few people working

alone or in isolation from the Native American community. The idea of a federal education employee, a state director of Native American education, or a curriculum director in a local district developing an effective program for Native Americans by himself is ridiculous. Perhaps he or she could outline an "Indian studies" program, but it would very likely be another expression of tokenism in education. Educators responsible for program development at state and local levels can provide an essential leadership and coordinate role. They can bring together the resource persons who can provide the necessary cultural, community, and professional educational inputs.

The program must be locally oriented to succeed. The goals and objectives must be formulated in a cooperative process which generates commitment. When objective data indicate that a program or strategy was not effective, it must be allowed to change. In the past, schools have continued to implement programs that have repeatedly proved of little value. When data indicate that a particular goal for Native American students is not being achieved, a need for special programs and additional resources has been identified.

Representatives of the Native American community need to be involved in the planning of enrichment and alternative programs. Ideally, these representatives would be appraised of Native American performance on all stated criteria. Their participation would produce suggestions for alternative programmatic approaches and delivery systems, and acceptance and support of programs that are implemented.

In developing and implementing special or alternative programs, both the school and the Native American community must recognize that much relevant learning may have to take place outside of classroom settings. For improvement in basic skills at the elementary school level, parents reading to children, neighborhood study centers, and similar activities may be needed to

extend or supplement the influence of the school. Experience indicates that working with parents is as important as working with children in improving skills and achievement among young children who have not been succeeding in school.

At the secondary level, the problems of providing effective programmatic alternatives become far more complex. At this level, students begin to or should begin to prepare for future careers. Unless economic development occurs on or near reservations so that Native American students have a real choice, effective educational programs will only accelerate the brain and talent drain from those communities.

It is most important that the school's goals do not become those of isolated career training and placement, because the school cannot achieve them by itself. Pressures from the community must be brought to bear on tribal governments which resist reservation development because continuation of the status quo preserves their local political power base. Native American communities need to develop their own economies or become integral parts of local service center economies. There can be little increase in, or need to train for, economic opportunity in Native American communities that are content to obtain all goods and services in nearby towns with businesses operated by the dominant society.

Native Americans need to sell groceries, gasoline, clothing, hardware, repair services, and other things to Native Americans and to non-Natives as well. Native American communities need service center economies of their own. To further support these economies, employment and family income-producing enterprises are also needed. Native American community leadership which does not seek development, but relies primarily on federal government support, betrays the trust of its people. Solving the economic development problems

of reservations is complex and difficult. Historically, Native Americans were not relocated or restricted to areas which showed promise of economic development. The school can be a part of this development and can make a long-range contribution through what it does for young people.

Manpower training and development in the broadest sense are essential ingredients in community economic development. In this area the schools have an appropriate and legitimate function. But manpower developed without opportunity produces outmigration and loss of confidence in the value of education. Vocational programs to train Native Americans as welders have become standing jokes (and a prime example of waste) among Indian educators. Too often, programs have been conducted where the training has little, if any, market value (ability to command a salary) in the local economy.

2. Effective program development will require particular attention to both education and social climate. While Native Americans generally value education, they do not extend this feeling to formal schooling. Too many times, they have experienced failure, humiliation, and a sense of despair in the school setting. The student's reaction to school is a result of how he perceives himself in relation to the total organization. He will acquire attitudes toward school from peers and parents, but these borrowed attitudes can be changed by a positive approach.

The school should not sell out its achievement goals for popular acceptance, because it does not have to. The behaviors of administrators, teachers, and counselors are the principal determinants of school climate. The curriculum and program developers must deal openly with the school climate problem. A sound and responsive program will fail if it is mechanically implemented by rigid or prejudiced staff members with little understanding or enthusiasm.

The social climate of the community is equally important in urban or rural settings, and harder to define and stimulate than that of the school. The key to social climate is probably through local political or influence leaders. The idea that the lot of Native Americans is hopeless is very debilitating. Acceptance of poverty and despair is worse than poverty or despair itself. School policy-makers and administrators must work closely with social and political leaders. With a social climate favorable to development, educational programs can be made relevant and important.

Office, distributive, and trades and industry programs could become truly functional. Students with ability and desire to become entrepreneurs or professionals can find outlets for their talents and interests in their own communities. Under these circumstances, the number and types of learning experiences can be expanded greatly. Work study and on-the-job training programs, junior-achievement model businesses, and other delivery systems become possible.

This type of flexibility has many appealing aspects, but it is not without problems and challenges. With economic development and education, a new power base will emerge, particularly in reservation communities, to challenge the control of interests protected by the dependency and loyalty patterns in the status quo.

3. Effective education programs must emphasize diagnosis and an individualized approach. For years, schools have administered standardized tests. When the results have been favorable, they have been used to advertise what a good job the schools have done. In the past, these results have been preserved in a cumulative record somewhere and had no impact on the instruction of a particular student. One use of these data has been to implement a practice known as tracking. Tracking or "ability grouping" appears to be

practiced more for teacher convenience than for helping pupils with individual learning problems.

Curriculum or educational program efforts for Native Americans cannot succeed unless the students succeed. Success of a student is a personal, individual matter; success of a program is the aggregate of individual pupil success. Effective programs need to find out where and why individual Native American students are having difficulty and arrange individual or group procedures to help them.

Tests must be diagnostic to tell what is needed. General achievement tests should come before and after a program or project to assess effectiveness. The "ability grouping" technique should be changed to constantly-changing "learning needs grouping." Native American children should never be placed in classes for mentally retarded because of language problems. In summary, all educational programs have to affect individual students ultimately by helping them learn.

4. Effective educational programs for Native American students must pay particular attention to staffing. Graduation from a teacher's college and possession of a state teacher's certificate are not enough. Teaching in federal schools is a bureaucratic job. The prospect of teaching on a reservation far from urban centers has relatively-low job appeal. The teacher shortage of the late 1950's-mid-1960's also seemed to work against Native American students in federal, rural public, and inner-city urban schools. The best-conceived program in the hands of an indifferent or incapable person is of little value.

The educational program planner must be concerned with staff effectiveness and staff development. Native American students need capable, open, and effective teachers. Those who merely go through the motions of "keeping school"

do harm to both students and programs. Teachers' security and pay must be made dependent on their ability to help students rather than on seniority in the system. Most programs for Native American students may require a teacher retraining component.

In addition to retraining and sensitizing staff members to cultural differences, feelings, and socioeconomic conditions, other personnel actions can make an important contribution. The use of Native Americans as teacher aides is a step in the right direction, but does not go far enough. Native American professionals should be acquired on the staff because they provide an identity base for students. One problem is that many Native American professionals have been assimilated to the extent that they cannot identify with Native American students in a truly sympathetic way. Of course, this situation is not always true.

One of the most promising practices at the present time is the further training of Native American teacher aides. The goal of many such current programs is teacher-training to provide both desired skills and eligibility for certification.

5. Effective education programs for Native Americans will have to include unique delivery mechanisms. Let's face it; many Native Americans have unfavorable attitudes toward school and poor study skills. Merely getting broad participation, diagnostic procedures, and better staffing will not suddenly make good students out of poor ones. There has to be a catch-up or change period for those already in the school systems. This change will come gradually if the school does not rely on the authoritarian "teacher-student"relationship.

Learning takes place in a variety of styles and settings. No one can say which method or group of methods will be most beneficial. Perhaps making

every elementary student's mother or guardian a teacher's aide at home, setting up neighborhood study centers, or secondary independent study programs may be more effective than the lecture-textbook-answer-the-questions-at-the-end-of-the-chapter approach. Effective programs will probably have to try many and different approaches. Those which do not produce results should be dropped.

5. Effective educational programs for Native Americans must have well-designed evaluation components. It is not enough to cite national, regional, or state data as a basis for claiming that Native American students have education needs. The type of goals proposed in the preceding sections requires that quantitative data, either measurements or head counts, be taken in the local school situation. Measurement of achievement may be made by standardized tests or by teacher-made tests, which should have greater content validity for the local school curriculum. The same test instruments and counting procedures should be used with the populations being compared.

Related data should come from many sources -- school census records, attendance registers, health records, cumulative folders, and rosters of participants in school activities. Subjective evaluations, such as teacher letter grades, should be avoided. The limitations of expressing educational outcomes in quantitative terms are real, but the dangers of not doing so are even greater. The strengths of using objective data include the following:

A. Need areas of Native American students can be identified objectively in terms of the schools' measures of goal achievement.

B. Objective data provide a basis for assessing the extent of the various needs and establishing supplementary or compensatory program development.

C. Objective data lend themselves to independent or external assessment or verification. Evidence of achievement will

improve the credibility of schools to Native American communities and other agencies.

D. Objective data put the focus on the outcomes of teaching. The teacher can no longer blame "low socioeconomic status" or "cultural disadvantage" for low achievement. The teacher has a more professional role of developing effective strategies that help all students learn.

E. Quantitative data lend themselves to more precise interpretation and manipulation. Levels of importance beyond purely statistical significance can be set by the professional staff and community.

7. Some elements of Native American culture are best handled and should be taught by the school. The school, for example, is the appropriate institution to impart substantive knowledge of social studies, history, and related subjects. Traditionally, social studies curriculums have focused on the total society, and have been biased in selection of materials and methods of presentation. Native Americans have become victims of this bias, as evidenced by the stereotypic treatment of them in American History textbooks.

As a result of the biased point of view, three things have happened: (A) Non-Natives have been taught romantic, inaccurate, and stereotypic information about Native Americans; (B) Native American students have been given information damaging to their personal and group identity; (C) Native Americans have been deprived of historical information which will help them better understand their role in contemporary society. These three problems are interrelated in terms of educational programs.

It is important for Native Americans to be appropriately perceived and understood by their fellow Americans. The best way to achieve this goal seems

to be educational programs and materials that present Native American history more objectively by or from more than one point of view. All members of society need to be aware of the special or dual relationship between Native Americans and the federal government that stems from treaties, legislation, and executive orders. The right to know, academic freedom, and academic responsibility must be applied to information about Native Americans. Making valid information about Native Americans available to all citizens is an appropriate function and a responsibility of the school.

The problem of materials and methods damaging to the self-concept of Native American students has already been discussed in terms of making these students comfortable in the school setting. But the programmatic implications go far beyond removing stereotypic materials that hinder adjustment to the learning environment. Programmatic development efforts must take on a positive thrust.

The school has the unique institutional function of transmitting accumulated knowledge. Native American students must have access to their history in ways that transcend the stories they hear at home and in the community. They need access to books and other materials that document the circumstances that led to their current role in contemporary society. Copies of treaties, books written by Native American historians, and related government documents are typically unavailable in Native American homes. As long as Native Americans are kept ignorant, they can be manipulated.

The National Indian Education Library Project (cited earlier) indicated a great demand for historical-cultural information among Native American students and adults. The same study also indicated that these materials are generally not available to Native Americans. The school libraries inventoried were very poorly equipped in these areas. Public library materials are practically non-existent in Native American communities.

Educators responsible for curriculum or program development must be concerned with this need. This point may seem to contradict an earlier statement that the school should not be too concerned with teaching "culture." Really, it is not contradictory because it focuses on only one aspect of culture, documentation of the historical record. Native American students need opportunities for quality scholarship concerning their past. The school cannot teach the conclusions to be drawn, but it can teach the methods of inquiry. When these skills are taught and applied, Native American students are confronted with information and documents which are authentic and which have not been digested for them by someone else who believes they are descendants of "savages."

A third related problem merits special attention because of its practical implications. The treaties, legislation, and executive orders which created the dual relationship with Native Americans established obligations on the part of the larger society in exchange for land or other considerations. These governmental actions and agreements have entitled Native Americans to some unique rights in education, health, and other areas. These rights and obligations vary from tribe to tribe, but Native Americans must be aware of them if they are to maintain their interests in a competitive, and often impersonal, society.

Native American students need to be aware of their rights and responsibilities as members of a tribal group. One area of particular importance to students is education. Because of the typically-low economic status of Native American communities, scholarship information is especially important to Native American students seeking educational opportunity. They need to know what scholarship support opportunities are available to them and how to apply for them.

While these historical and legal elements of Native American culture come close to personal matters of lifestyle at many points, they have an informational rather than a psychological orientation to school programs. The school cannot assume goals of teaching Native Americans to be "Indians." The school must adhere to an institutional role of teaching skills which perpetuate free inquiry and scholarship. These skills should be extended and encouraged among Native American students, as opposed to programs that tend to be propagandistic.

Within the diversity of Native American communities, it is possible to find rare circumstances that will severely test the traditions of free inquiry. There are small tribal communities in which religion assumes a degree of importance that justifies a "theocracy" label. Schools in these communities might insist on only one philosophical view of man (theirs) being taught. Under these circumstances, Native American education may become private education, not unlike that guaranteed to Amish people. However, in most Native American communities there is a need for some selected elements of Native American culture to be taught by the school. Local control and citizen participation are the safety valves on which curriculum and program developers should rely.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

Data collection and analysis are worthwhile activities when they lead to the identification of problems and assist in making difficult decisions. However, when problems have been identified, data collection and analysis should not be substituted for leadership and goal-oriented action. "Indian education" suffers from these symptoms to a significant extent. We know that the achievement and attendance rates of Native American children fall far below state and national averages. We know that personal income, conditions of housing, and life expectancy are lower and that the incidence of disease and social problems are higher among Native Americans.

National studies and countless conferences have rediscovered or reiterated what is already known. National policy pronouncements have promised change. "Instructional objectives" and "accountability" have become key words in educational literature. The 1970 federal census indicated that Native Americans have made advances in education but lag behind the rest of the nation in most social and economic measures. Publicized changes in "Indian education" appear to be of great magnitude because their baseline is so close to ground-zero.

In the schools of large cities, Native American students still experience intense adjustment problems and continue to drop out in large numbers. Native Americans in small town districts near reservations are still subject to prejudicial attitudes, become disenchanted, and swell the drop-out statistics. On reservations, Native Americans attend both day and boarding schools. Data

about these institutions, specifically established and specially operated for Native American students indicated that they are not significantly different in the long run from public schools, on or off reservations.

Clearly, the need in "Indian education" is for curriculum and program development. Future research efforts should objectively monitor the effectiveness of curricular approaches rather than rediscover the symptoms. Local control of schools by Native Americans on reservations and contracting Johnson-O'Malley monies directly with tribes are desirable, but are only intermediate goals at best. The primary education question still remains one of educational program, after control or influence are attained.

Because of the diverse conditions among Native American communities, a wide variety of approaches and materials are needed. The area of bilingual approaches alone illustrates the need for a variety of materials. Progress that has been made to date must be continued. Every school, federal or state public, which serves Native American students should have the programmatic capability of making the majority of them feel comfortable in the learning environment and enhancing their chances for a higher-quality adult life.

There is no simple right answer. The programs and strategies for effecting educational and social change must be evolved. To continue with methods and materials which proved ineffective in the past is an invitation to failure. Curriculum and program development must become a process of harmonizing educational goals and social aspirations at the local level. We are now more ready than ever before to achieve that goal.

Me Gwitch

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Antell, Will. A Model for the Distribution of Johnson-O'Malley Funds Based on Educational Need. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1973.

Cavendar, Chris. "A Study of Community Attitudes in Regard to Why Indian Students Drop Out of the Granite Falls High School" in Problems and Promises. University of Minnesota: Division of Educational Administration, 1971.

Center for Applied Linguistics. Recommendations for Language Policy in Indian Education. Arlington, Va.: The Center, 1973.

Congress of the United States, Senate Committee on Labor and Public welfare. Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge. No. 91-501. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

Dodge, Carol. "An Analysis of Curriculum Materials to Develop Guidelines for American Indian Resource Units in Elementary Schools." Problems and Promises. University of Minnesota: Division of Educational Administration, 1971.

Havighurst, Robert J. The National Study of American Indian Education, USOE OEC-0-8-080147-2805, The Education of Indian Children and Youth, Summary Report and Recommendations, Series IV. No. 6. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970.

Merriam, Lewis. The Problem of Indian Administration. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1928.

National Indian Education Library Project, Will Antell, Project Director. Designs for Library Services. University of Minnesota: Bureau of Field Studies, 1972.

Sorkin, Alan L. American Indians and Federal Aids. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1971.

Special Education Subcommittee of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, Will Antell, Chairman. Between Two Milestones, The First Report to the President of the United States. Minneapolis: The Subcommittee, 1972.

United States Department of Commerce. Subject Report: American Indians. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Will Antell is presently on the faculty of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Before joining the Harvard faculty, Dr. Antell was Director of Indian Education for the state of Minnesota. A member of the Chippewa tribe, Mississippi band, he was born on the White Earth Indian Reservation in northern Minnesota. Dr. Antell taught social science at the high school level for nine years while working on his advanced degrees. His present research interests are centered on Indian student achievement in elementary and secondary education; he is now engaged in a two- to three-year study examining the diagnostic procedures and instruments used in the placement of Indian students in handicapped classes. Dr. Antell is a member of the ERIC/CRESS Advisory Board.